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**1993/11/02**

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November 2, 1993

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PAGE 01 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z

ACTION EAP-01

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SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5849

NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

INFO USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI IMMEDIATE

JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMCONSUL SHENYANG

AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AIT TAIPEI 2719

AMCONSUL CHENGDU

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SEOUL AND TOKYO PASS TO DOD A/S FREEMAN

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PAGE 02 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z

E.O. 12356: N/A

<SUBJ>

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF BEIJING PRESS CONFERENCE OF  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE CHAS FREEMAN ON NOVEMBER  
2, 1993

<TEXT>

1. CHAS FREEMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR

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UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

November 2, 1993

UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

REGIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, GAVE AN ON-THE-RECORD PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE PROGRAM ROOM OF USIS BEIJING AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS VISIT TO BEIJING ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1993.

2. AMERICAN MEDIA PRESENT INCLUDED ABC, AP, BALTIMORE SUN, CNN, CBS, FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK TIMES, UPI, VOA, WASHINGTON POST, AND WTN. CHINESE PRESS INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES FROM XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, PEOPLE'S DAILY, CHINA DAILY, AND GUANGMING DAILY. AMONG THE HONG KONG PRESS WERE THE SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, ATV HONG KONG, HONG KONG COMMERCIAL RADIO, HONG KONG TVB NEWS, HONG KONG CABLE TV, AND RTHK. TAIWAN'S CHINA NEWS AGENCY ALSO SENT A REPRESENTATIVE.

3. THIRD-COUNTRY PRESS INCLUDED REUTERS, BBC, AGENCY FRANCE-PRESSE, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP., FINANCIAL TIMES, DPA, PTI, ANSA, KYODO, SANKEI SHIMBUN, YOMIURI SHIMBUN, NHK, JIJI PRESS, MAINICHI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN, TOKYO SHIMBUN, NIKON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, NRC HANDELSBLAD, TASS, AND LUSA (PORTUGUESE NEWS AGENCY). (BEGIN TRANSCRIPT)

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PAGE 03 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
AMBASSADOR FRESHMAN: THANK YOU, I AM SORRY TO BE LATE. I HAVE BEEN BUSY CLEARING REPORTING CABLES FROM THE VERY BUSY SCHEDULE I'VE KEPT HERE. MY COLLEAGUES IN THE DELEGATION, SOME OF WHOM ARE HERE AND SOME OF WHOM ARE NOT, AND I HAD A SERIES OF VERY PRODUCTIVE MEETINGS WITH THE VICE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF, LT. GENERAL XU HUIZI. I ALSO HAD A MEETING WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER LIU HUAQIU BEFORE HE LEFT FOR THE UNITED STATES THIS MORNING, AND I HAD A MEETING WITH LT. GENERAL HUAI GUOMO, WHO IS CHARGE OF DEFENSE CONVERSION, YESTERDAY. THIS MORNING, AS YOU KNOW, I MET WITH DEFENSE MINISTER GENERAL CHI HAOTIAN AND WITH POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION GENERAL LIU HUAQING. THESE MEETINGS WERE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON COMMON SECURITY CONCERNS AND IN PARTICULAR ON EACH OTHER'S IDEAS ON HOW TO IMPROVE U.S.-CHINA MILITARY RELATIONS, WITH A SPECIFIC FOCUS ON THE SUBJECTS OF PEACEKEEPING AND THE CONCEPT OF COOPERATION IN DEFENSE CONVERSION, WHICH IS AN AREA WHERE CHINA HAS PLAYED A PIONEERING ROLE AND WHERE WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM THE CHINESE.

I WAS ALSO ABLE, I SHOULD SAY, TO SPEAK FRANKLY AND

INR188

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UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

November 2, 1993

UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY ABOUT SOME OF THE PROBLEMS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. FINALLY, WE DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF MODEST INITIATIVES FOR MILITARY DIALOGUE AND EXCHANGES BETWEEN US. I

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PAGE 04 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
MIGHT ADD THAT THESE EXCHANGES AND THIS DIALOGUE ARE ALL DESIGNED TO PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TRUST SO THAT THE TWO MILITARIES CAN CONTRIBUTE BOTH TO IMPROVING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND TO PROMOTING PEACE AND STABILITY IN A NUMBER OF TROUBLE SPOTS IN THE WORLD.

SO THIS IS BASICALLY A SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES IN WHICH I'VE BEEN ENGAGED. MY TIME IS SHORT, BUT I'D BE HAPPY TO TAKE QUESTIONS.

Q: I'M PAT TYLER OF THE NEW YORK TIMES. GOOD TO SEE YOU.

FREEMAN: NICE TO SEE YOU.

Q: THERE HAS BEEN SOME CONCERN OR EXPRESSION OF CONCERN AND SOME REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON THAT THERE IS CONCERN IN THE ADMINISTRATION THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PLA IS DEMONIZING THE UNITED STATES, (AND) REGARDS THE UNITED STATES MILITARY AS ITS ENEMY. TO WHAT EXTENT DID YOU ADDRESS THE TWO, AND WHAT IS YOUR ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES IN THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP NOW?

FREEMAN: I FOUND THE PLA MILITARY LEADERSHIP VERY OPEN TO THE IDEA OF RESUMING EXCHANGES AND ENGAGING IN A RANGE OF ACTIVITIES IN THE AREAS I HAVE MENTIONED--

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PAGE 05 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
BASICALLY, PEACEKEEPING AND DEFENSE CONVERSION. AT THE SAME TIME, I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT FOUR AND A HALF YEARS OF NOT A COMPLETE HALT IN THE DIALOGUE BUT CERTAINLY A CONSTRICTION OF IT HAVE TAKEN THEIR TOLL IN TERMS OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, NOT ONLY ON THE CHINESE SIDE BUT ON OUR OWN SIDE. AND I THINK THAT IT IS JUST A MATTER OF LOGIC THAT IF YOU DON'T HAVE CONTACT AND DIALOGUE, IT'S EASY TO BE UNAWARE OF THE OTHER SIDE'S VIEWPOINT AND TO MISINTERPRET THAT VIEWPOINT ON OCCASION. IN OTHER WORDS, IGNORANCE CAN BREED SUSPICION AND DISTRUST, BUT I CERTAINLY DIDN'T SENSE ANYTHING BUT A WARM RECEPTION FROM THOSE I SPOKE WITH.

Q: COULD YOU ELABORATE MORE ON THE INITIATIVES YOU

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November 2, 1993

UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

DEALT WITH REGARDING MILITARY EXCHANGES AND DIALOGUE, AND WHAT SORT OF VISITS WE ARE GOING TO SEE IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

FREEMAN: WELL, THE DETAILS ARE STILL UNDER DISCUSSION. I SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT IT WASN'T MY PURPOSE IN COMING HERE IN WHAT WAS ESSENTIALLY A DAY AND A HALF OF MEETINGS TO TRY TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF A PROGRAM OF EXCHANGES OR OTHER ACTIVITIES. WE DID DISCUSS SOME SUGGESTIONS, BUT THEY WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN NORMAL CHANNELS THROUGH THE DEFENSE ATTACHE HERE AND THE CHINESE DEFENSE ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON, SO I AM REALLY NOT IN A POSITION TO GET INTO THE SPECIFICS, EXCEPT TO SAY THAT WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IS A FAIRLY MODEST PROGRAM OF RECIPROCAL VISITS, DISCUSSIONS, FOCUSED ON PROFESSIONALIZATION, ON PEACEKEEPING.

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PAGE 06      BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
AND IN THE LATTER AREA, I WOULD STRESS IN PARTICULAR THE VERY FINE PERFORMANCE WHICH CHINA TURNED IN IN CAMBODIA, WHICH REMINDED US OF SOMETHING IMPORTANT, NAMELY, AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH A VERY LARGE STANDING ARMY, CHINA IS VERY LIKELY TO PARTICIPATE IN FUTURE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS ALONGSIDE THE UNITED STATES. IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WHEN THE PLA AND THE U.S. ARMED FORCES ARE TOGETHER, THAT THEY KNOW HOW TO COMMUNICATE, HOW TO COOPERATE. AND SO WE'RE GOING TO LOOK TOGETHER AT SOME WAYS OF DOING SOME PREPARATORY WORK FOR THIS KIND OF COOPERATION UNDER UN AUSPICES IN THE FUTURE.

Q: ANY TIANANMEN SANCTIONS BEING LIFTED NOW? ARE THERE ANY SANCTIONS ON SALES BEING LIFTED NOW? ARE WE JUST NOW TALKING ABOUT A RESUMPTION OF EXCHANGES AND DIALOGUE?

FREEMAN: NO, THERE'S NO CHANGE IN THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO SANCTIONS AT PRESENT. BUT WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IS EXACTLY WHAT I SAID. I MIGHT ADD THAT OBVIOUSLY THE WORLD HAS CHANGED A GREAT DEAL SINCE 1989. THE BERLIN WALL HAS FALLEN, THE SOVIET UNION IS NO MORE. WE HAVE A VERY CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP NOW WITH THE RUSSIAN ARMED FORCES. CHINA AS YOU KNOW BETTER THAN I, LIVING HERE, HAS CHANGED A GREAT DEAL SINCE 1989 TOO. IN FACT, COMING BACK HERE AFTER AN ABSENCE OF NINE YEARS ONE IS

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UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

November 2, 1993

UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

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PAGE 07 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
ABSOLUTELY STARTLED BY THE CHANGES WHICH ARE TAKING  
PLACE. SO IT ISN'T APPROPRIATE TO THINK IN TERMS OF  
GOING BACK TO THE SORT OF RELATIONSHIP WE HAD FROM THE  
EARLY 1980'S THROUGH 1989. AND WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT  
THAT.

Q: I THINK YOU SAID YOU SPOKE FRANKLY WITH THEM ABOUT  
THE PROBLEMS IN THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP.  
SPECIFICALLY, COULD YOU CHARACTERIZE YOUR DISCUSSIONS  
ON PROLIFERATION, AND WAS THERE ANY CHANGE IN THE  
CHINESE POSITION THAT THEY DIDN'T SELL THE M-11 TO  
PAKISTAN?

FREEMAN: WELL, WE DID DISCUSS A NUMBER OF ISSUES,  
INCLUDING THE M-11, AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT THOSE  
DISCUSSIONS WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR US TO PUT THAT ISSUE  
BEHIND US, BUT I CANNOT REPORT THAT THAT WAS ACHIEVED  
DURING MY VISIT. IT WILL REQUIRE MORE WORK IN THE  
FUTURE BY BOTH SIDES.

Q: MAY I HAVE A FOLLOW-UP ON THAT? WHAT WOULD PAVE  
THE WAY FOR THEM TO PUT THAT ISSUE BEHIND THEM? WAS  
THERE SOME SPECIFIC COMMITMENT THAT THE CHINESE  
WILL

ADHERE MORE TO THE MTCR SO THAT THE U.S. COULD LIFT THE  
SANCTIONS THAT ARE NOW IN PLACE?

FREEMAN: THERE ARE A VARIETY OF WAYS IN WHICH THIS  
ISSUE COULD BE RESOLVED, AND I AM NOT GOING TO GET INTO  
SPECIFICS. BUT I'D SIMPLY SAY THAT WE ARE BOTH AWARE  
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PAGE 08 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
THAT IT IS A SERIOUS ISSUE. IT'S VERY CLEAR THAT THE  
CHINESE THEMSELVES TAKE THE ISSUE OF PROLIFERATION  
SERIOUSLY. I THINK THAT THEY MAKE A VERY CONVINCING  
CASE THAT, AS THEY FREQUENTLY SAY, THEY NEED A STABLE  
AND PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT, ESPECIALLY ON  
THEIR BORDERS, IN ORDER TO PURSUE THEIR OWN NATIONAL  
OBJECTIVES. SO, I THINK IN BROAD TERMS THERE IS  
UNDERSTANDING. THERE ARE SPECIFIC ISSUES, OF WHICH THE  
M-11 IS ONE, OF COURSE, AND ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT WE  
HOPE TO WORK WITH THE CHINESE, WE HOPE THEY WILL WORK  
WITH US, TO FIND A WAY OF RESOLVING THE QUESTIONS WHICH  
HAVE ARISEN.

Q: COULD YOU TELL US WHAT BEARING DOES CHINA'S NON-  
PROLIFERATION POLICY HAVE WHEN IT COMES TO CONSIDERING  
MFN STATUS?

FREEMAN: WELL, I THINK CHINESE BEHAVIOR ON A RANGE OF

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November 2, 1993

UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

ISSUES IS WEIGHED AS WE CONSIDER DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING MFN. I WILL NOTE THAT CHINA OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS HAS ADHERED FIRST TO THE NPT AND THEN TO THE CONVENTIONS AGAINST CHEMICAL WARFARE. IT IS A SIGNATORY OF THE CONVENTION AGAINST BIOLOGICAL WARFARE. VERY CLEARLY, CHINESE THINKING ON THESE ISSUES HAS MOVED A LONG WAY FROM WHERE IT WAS SOME YEARS AGO AND IT IS MUCH CLOSER TO OUR OWN THINKING, AND THAT IS A MATTER OF SOME SATISFACTION TO US.

I THINK THAT IT LAYS A BASIS FOR COOPERATION IN THIS

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PAGE 09 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
AREA. AND THAT COOPERATION CAN ONLY HAVE A BENEFICIAL AFFECT ON THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP.

Q: DID THE CHINESE RAISE AT ALL THE QUESTION OF RENEWING ARMS PURCHASES FROM THE UNITED STATES?

FREEMAN: NO.

Q: DID YOU DISCUSS WITH CHINESE COUNTERPARTS THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SITUATION UPON THE REGION?

FREEMAN: THE SUBJECT DID COME UP, BUT NOT AS A MAJOR TOPIC OF THE DISCUSSION. I THINK THAT BOTH OF US ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF INSTABILITY IN RUSSIA AND ADJACENT AREAS WHICH WOULD AFFECT THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF CHINA AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES. BUT THE DISCUSSION SIMPLY WASN'T DETAILED, NOR WAS THAT A FOCUS OF OUR TALKS. IF IT CAME UP, (IT WAS) ESSENTIALLY IN PASSING.

Q: A LOT OF CHINA'S NEIGHBORS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT THE INCREASES IN THE CHINESE MILITARY BUDGET. DOES THE UNITED STATES SHARE THESE CONCERNS, AND IF SO, DID YOU CONVEY THOSE TO THE CHINESE WHILE YOU WERE HERE?

FREEMAN: I THINK ONE THING THAT WE DID DISCUSS WHICH WAS DIRECTLY ON THIS POINT, ALTHOUGH NOT EXACTLY IN THE TERMS THAT YOU PUT IT, IS THAT BOTH OF US ARE IN THE

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PAGE 10 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
BUSINESS AT PRESENT OF RESTRUCTURING AND MODERNIZING OUR DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENTS AND OUR MILITARIES. IN OUR CASE, IT HAPPENS THAT WE DO NOT BELIEVE ANYMORE THAT OUR GLOBAL ROLE INVOLVES A POSSIBILITY OF A WORLD WAR, AND THEREFORE WE ARE DRAMATICALLY DOWN-SIZING BOTH OUR

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UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

JGIRNEY

23

November 2, 1993

UNCLAS BEIJING 039556

DEFENSE SPENDING AND THE SIZE OF ARMED FORCES. AND I HAD HOPED TO EXPLAIN TO THE CHINESE MORE IN DETAIL WHAT WE WERE DOING. FRANKLY TIME DID NOT PERMIT, BUT I WAS ABLE TO GIVE THEM SOME BRIEFING MATERIAL ON THIS. I THINK FOR OUR PART WE WOULD LIKE TO UNDERSTAND MORE ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF CHINESE MILITARY PLANNING--WHAT KIND OF CORE STRUCTURE THE CHINESE PLAN. NOT BECAUSE WE REGARD CHINA AS A THREAT, BUT BECAUSE WE REGARD CHINA AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN WORLD POLITICS AND THE SECURITY OF THIS REGION, AS A POTENTIAL PARTNER IN MANY WAYS, AND WE WOULD SIMPLY LIKE TO UNDERSTAND MORE ABOUT BOTH THE METHODOLOGY BY WHICH THE CHINESE MAKE PLANNING DECISIONS IN THIS AREA AND THE DIRECTION OF THEIR DEFENSE EVOLUTION. AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT THE EXCHANGES AND DIALOGUE TO WHICH I REFERRED WILL ENABLE US TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT.  
Q: DID THE OFFICIALS YOU MET THESE FEW DAYS EXPRESS THEIR ANGER ON THE SALES OF WEAPONS TO TAIWAN FROM THE U.S.?

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REMAN: IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS THE CHINESE DID MAKE CLEAR THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE LEVEL OF U.S. ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN IN THE RECENT PAST. SO THAT ISSUE,  
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PAGE 11 BEIJING 39556 00 OF 04 021132Z  
WAS RAISED BY THEM, BUT I SHOULD SAY THAT THAT TOO IS NOT A FOCUS OF THE DISCUSSIONS. I WAS NOT HERE TO ADDRESS THAT ISSUE, AND MY CHINESE HOSTS GRACEFULLY REGISTERED THEIR CONCERN BUT DID NOT SEEK TO ENGAGE IN AN EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE.  
(END OF TRANSCRIPT)

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